old man with rhetorical leanings and included things because they formed a nice rhyme, and, indeed, she was not far from the truth. Our monosyllabic language is a heavenly gift to us with its endless scope for the most unrestrained punning and rhyming; the pun in Burmese is not execrable humour but a stepping stone for flights of fancy. What my sister was not allowed to eat were the three most precious foods as proverbalised in: *a-thi-hma tha-yet; a-gwet hma la-hpet; a-tha hma wet:* among fruits the *tha-yet*, among leaves the *la-hpet*, among flesh the *wet: tha-yet, la-hpet* and *wet* being the mango, the pickled tea-leaf and the pig's flesh respectively, and open to question as being really the prize specimens of their class, but certainly rhyming happily.

My parents were so good to us; they never scolded, beat or punished us that I can remember. Perhaps they had both had so much discipline in their own youths; I can remember the day we were told to answer them "Father" and "Mother" when they called us, instead of *Paya* as we had done formerly. Paya is the term of extreme respect and humility, sometimes adopted by children to parents, always by servants to their superiors, by subordinates to senior officials, and by all to royalty and the clergy. It is also the suffix to honorific titles. Its true and ancient use had associations of reverence only, but it has taken on a more subservient hue with the advent of government and foreign officials.

But whether we answered Paya or Father, my mother's guiding influence led us to look on my father with awe, even though he was the parent who clowned with us at home. We were always bathed and dressed before he came home, waiting for him. As soon as he entered the gate we raced down the drive to carry his umbrella, took him upstairs and scrambled to take his shoes off as soon as we could get him seated. His shoes, suspenders and socks were removed by combined efforts, my father pretending great helplessness all the while. We went for walks while my parents went to play tennis, but retuned in time to carry their racquets upstairs and remove my father's shoes again. After dinner my mother and we lay on mats while my father sat in an easy chair and pretended to get his nursery rhymes all wrong, until we taught him:

A-hpo gyi oh, hka kon kon,	Old man so bent and grey,
Ma thay ba hnin ohn	Do not die as yet we pray.
Naung hnit-kha ta-saung-mon	Till next December try to tarry
Pwè kyi ba ohn.	And watch the actors play and marry.

Or the voracious cat who ate everything:

Kyaung-gyi yè tè mi tan to	Oh you big and short tailed cat.
A-hai ko sa ba lo	Swallowing the lean
A-tha ko nyo.	And eating the fat.

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER NINE

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MEN of my father's generation followed a definite pattern in the stages of their lives. They passed their infancy and early childhood playing around their mother's knee, but as soon as they were capable of receiving spiritual influence and training, the atmosphere of the monastery and the men of religion enwrapt them. Thus their spiritual life began at the monastery. After they left it they spent many stages in the world of offices and money-earning, but none of them could be reconciled to this as the final stage of their lives. They hoped to leave this when they were fifty or soon after, and go back full circle to spending the twilight in the atmosphere of religion, before they went out finally in childish decay to another and better existence. The retirement from the civil service was therefore a very important point in my father's life. The English term "pensioner" has come to be incorporated into popular Burmese usage, as *pin-sin tha-ma*, so full of meaning is it. Most men at this time look about for a town which will ensure easy living and performance of meritorious deeds, in which to settle down. We went back to Thaton because of our family connections, but, as it happened, Thaton was also the most noted town in Burma for the settling of pin-sin tha-mas; it was indeed the pensioner's paradise.

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Thaton is a very old town. From the fifth to the tenth century A.D. it flourished as the centre of a Buddhist kingdom of Talaings, while the greater Burmese capital at Pagan was still without the true faith. There the Burmese King and the people were under the sway of a body of monks called the Aris, whose hypnotic influence was exercised through the practice of ritualistic observances contrary to the teachings of the Buddha and of which they set themselves to be the high priests. To this capital came a Buddhist monk from Thaton called Shin Arahan. He came into the presence of the King with his staff and a simple robe and the stamp of an ascetic life on his face, but also with the serene assurance that a monk's life ennobled any man beyond all other men, for he went up to the throne of the King and sat upon it. King Anawrahta asked, "What is the true teaching of this holy religion, and where can one get its Books?" Shin Arahan then told the King of the Buddhist kingdom of Thaton and the sacred scriptures which were there. The King of Pagan sent messengers to Thaton for copies of the scriptures, but the proud King at Thaton would not yield them. The

never talked about the business of their past working days when they met. Sometimes they showed a fleeting interest in news of the postings of friends still in service, but even the official matters of Thaton district itself did not enter into their discussions. They talked of charity donations, of the respective monasteries which they endowed and attended, and of formulæ of *eggaya-hto*, alchemy, or the search for the philosopher's stone which will turn all metals to gold. Most Burmans get interested in eggaya-hto during their later years, even if few now practise it.

This alchemy, which has no place among the true teachings of Buddhism, has to be done under auspicious astrological influences and is usually carried on in secret. Burman Buddhists condemn the use of it when it is carried on for *lawba*, greed for riches, but others justify the process as a means of concentrating the mental faculties. The common stories tell of hermits in the forests, who by their ascetic life and concentrated meditation have more powers over the forces of nature, as being well versed in the processes of alchemy. When such a hermit achieves the extreme concentration of mind on his task he is successful—the philosopher's stone is discovered, the body of the hermit then disappears in the dissolving of matter, and his spirit is free to live unhampered by the body, till the arrival of the next Buddha on the earth. Most Burmese women, however, although they believe that this happens in the case of hermits, object very strongly to the practice of alchemy on the part of their menfolk, owing to the money and energy that is wasted on seeking out new and expensive formulæ once the craze has got hold of a man. All experiments are started with mercury which is melted with other minerals, animal or vegetable substances which derive their magical properties partly from their inaccessibility, partly from being treated with prescribed rites. My father had no intention of taking up alchemy and impoverishing us, but he too was very interested to hear of the success and failure of various methods. These discussions must have been kept well anchored to reality by the other chief topic of discussion—the families of the pensioners.

The five duties of a parent towards his children include the settling of the child in a good marriage. By the time the a-so-ya mins retire, their sons and daughters have reached a marriageable age. The sons are in the process of winning a good position in one of the government services and their daughters have been dressed with an adequate amount of jewellery. The marriage market, which had no existence in former Burmese society and which still is unheard of in Ye, and among the poorer people, is now a very concrete institution among the educated and modern classes. The rise of the minkadaw class and of higher paid Class I government officials has been mainly responsible for this. More

and more within recent years, the higher government services have come to be associated not only with "face", but with *gon*, prestige, and *ausa*, authority, which together make up a *myet-hna-gyi*, big face, in Burma. Mothers of daughters want their daughters to have gon and ausa and be big of face as the wife of the senior government officer in a town, and mothers of sons want to get the most for themselves and their other children out of having such a golden goose. They want a girl with wealth, a meek nature, good looks, religious piety and education, more or less in this order. So that the imperfect daughter-in-law may lack the last named qualities rather than the first. Wealth means not merely money, property or jewels, but an absence of younger brothers and sisters or other potential dependents, this being a very important factor in our closely-knit family system. A relative of mine who had just seen his son enter a top service, showed my father his comprehensive table of the marriageable girls of Burma, under headings of family connections, amount and form of property, potential dependents, physical and moral qualities of the girl. My father should have been keenly interested as the father of a son who was studying in England with success, and, indeed, when my brother returned, he might have fetched us about Rs. 30,000 had he desired, so far have we progressed beyond the Burmese traditions of the man's family asking for the hand of the girl with presents of money and jewellery.

It may be asked, what of the men who are thus bartered? Burmans are very greatly attached to their mothers; few can resist a mother's tears, and the tears in these cases are genuinely of grief, because the mother sees this marriage as a faithful discharge of one of her five duties. The five duties of a child towards its parent, on the other hand, include the support of father and mother, and in making this marriage the man sees the best way of providing comfort to his parents in their old age. For the girls also, an arranged marriage is not necessarily a joyless thing. Girls who are educated as we have been, in spite of reading Western romances, are brought up to believe that a girl will grow to love her husband who is good to her. *Tha-na*, pity, compassion, and *chit*, affection-love, are very close in Burmese; the usual way for a wife to address her husband is *Maung*, the same word as younger brother, or *Ko Ko*, elder brother; some husbands address their wives as *nyi-ma-lay*, little sister. And, in fact, in most cases the results do bear out the wisdom of this attitude towards marriage; so that to most Burmans it is the "free" Western marriages which so often appear ill-assorted and lead to divorces. Still, it cannot be denied that much undignified haggling and manœuvring go on nowadays, in the efforts to obtain the best match for sons and daughters. *Aung-thwès*, go-betweens, get a lot of

face from bringing something off, money is paid in advance, rush tactics are employed to prevent the man returning from abroad from marrying the sweetheart of his college days, and in some cases even magic is resorted to, though in secret. This black magic, especially, involves some very undignified actions. A younger cousin of mine once warned his mother: "Please, Mother, never try to sell me like a bullock, or worse still to arrange a marriage for my sister. I will not help you to jump thrice on eggshells or throw ten viss of fish into a well at dead of night under instructions from a soothsayer."

Although marriages were constantly being arranged among our circle of friends in Thaton, I was not allowed to attend weddings as a young unmarried girl. What we did attend regularly with the grown-ups were the *u-bok-nay*, the duty day gatherings every week in the resthouses among the hills. On these days Buddhists who choose to observe the day, obey eight or ten precepts instead of five. Amongst these ten are the abstaining from food after mid-day, absence of ornament and cosmetics in dress, meditation and prayer, and absence of a high couch in sleep. In Thaton the observance of this day was made the weekly social event with the same combination of material enjoyment and religious piety that characterizes all Burmese functions as described previously. Each family went to the hills early in the morning with mats, betel boxes and a well-cooked meal. The girls wore all the jewellery they had because we had not yet taken the precepts, and this was a good chance of showing that a family did not lack wealth. We met in the resthouses, to one of which a monk came to intone the precepts. These we repeated in chorus after him; then the elders talked and chewed betel, and at about 10-30 the whole party went to bathe in the pools made by the waterfalls down the hills. We went back to find the pooled dishes of four or five families laid out in a rich feast. We stuffed ourselves with this. The law states that food should not be eaten after noon, and the law was always obeyed in the letter if not in the spirit.

One maiden lady in Rangoon who kept duty days regularly ate till as near noon as she possibly could. She usually finished her meal with fruit, and if she was eating a banana when noon struck with a loud bang from the cannon at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, "Hawl" she would exclaim, and in would go the whole length of the banana into her mouth. After noon, tea and coffee are not allowed either but aerated waters, which look so much like water, are sanctioned. When my husband was a novice monk in the monastery, they were allowed medicinal products also after noon, and the hungry young novices often made a delicious soup of garlic (a digestive) fried in butter (medicinal component), and water poured on to the fragrant compound.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

U Ngè, "Old Small" or "Old Wee"; or takes U Lugale instead, "Old Boy." To this additions may be made according to fancy. Indeed the possible forms of any given Burmese name would supply a very fair sum in permutations and combinations.

There is a similar freedom with the women's names. Every woman married or unmarried may be called Ma. When she becomes elderly Mè is very often used. Mi implies youth in the person addressed, or affection on the part of the speaker. A young husband or lover usually calls his lady love Mi Mi. She addresses him as Maung, "brother," or familiarly as Taw, or Shin. Ba in Lower Burma is a polite form. In Upper Burma, especially in the Palace, Maung Maung, or Tin Tin, or Teit Tin (prostrating the forehead, Kowtowing) are used in a courteous way. It is considered hardly civil in any case to use the bare name; the office held, or some particular alms given by the person addressed, supplies the easiest equivalent; otherwise some friendly form is employed in speaking. Kin-le is used similarly in familiar fashion or in a friendly way to those of lesser rank. Thus a prince would use it in addressing an A-pyo-daw, a maid of honour.

Sometimes when a boy grows up he does not like the name his parents gave him. He can then change it by a very simple process. He makes up a number of packets of le'-pet and sends round a friend to deliver them to all his acquaintances and relations. The messenger goes to the head of the house and says: "I have come from Maung Shwe Pyin (Mr. Golden Stupid). He is not to be called by that name any more. When you invite him call him Maung Hkyaw Hpe (Mr. Celebrated Father). Be good enough to eat this pickled tea," and then he goes on to the next house. It is not imperative that the letters of the birthday should be adhered to, but it is usually done. Women very seldom change names. It looks too much like a broad hint that they are growing up and have some notion of themselves, or that they have a mind of their own, which might prove irksome to possible husbands.

A careful note is made of the exact hour of birth with the object of drawing up the sadā or certificate of birth

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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important age for the boy to be learning English and arithmetic, with a view to getting situations under Government or in English merchants' offices. Therefore in the vast majority of cases shin-pyu thi takes place at the age of twelve, or perhaps even a year earlier.

If the boy has been a scholar in the monastery beforehand, he is sure to be already prepared in all that is required of him. If not, he gets a few hasty lessons in the duties that will be incumbent on him. He must address a full member of the order in such and such language; he must walk decorously through the streets, keeping his eyes fixed on the ground six feet before him, and on no account gaze round him, no matter what exciting events may be going on; he must wear his thingan and du-gut in the prescribed fashion; he must eat with dignity and circumspection, and so on. All these details are set forth in most minute fashion in a code. When he has mastered the most essential portions, and has also given proof of an acquaintance with the ordinary forms of worship, all is ready. His horoscope now comes into requisition, and a bedinsayā or Ponna is called in to determine a lucky day and hour from the sadā. When this has been settled, three or four girls, the intending koyin-gale's sisters, or friends of the family, dress themselves up in their finest silks and jewels—often borrowing a large quantity of the latter—and go round the town, announcing to all relatives, friends, and neighbours when the induction will take place, and inviting them to the feast, presenting the little packet of le'-pet usual on such occasions. Almost all of these send some little present, either of money or victuals, to aid in the feast and make it as grand as possible. Not unseldom, if somebody else's son is also going to enter the kyaung and the town is not very large, the two join forces, while occasionally as many as half a dozen unite, especially if the families are not well off.

On the appointed day the young neophyte dresses in his finest clothes, and loads himself with all the family gold chains and jewellery, and as much more as he can borrow for the occasion. He then mounts a pony or gets into a richly decorated car. Shaded by gold umbrellas, allowed formerly on this occasion only in Upper Burma, except to those who had got a special patent for them from the sovereign...

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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respect paid to him by the king was paid, not as to the head of the religion, but as to the personal teacher. The Burman in his prayers, or rather his meditations for the good of others, prays for his teacher before his parents. The five pleasant things in the world are: the shade of trees, the shade of parents, the shade of teachers, the shade of princes, the shade of the Buddha.

It is this republican tendency of Buddhism that gives it such a wonderful hold on the people. Rank does not confer on the mendicant greater honour, or release him from any of his obligations. The most learned and famous Sadaw must go forth every morning to beg his daily food. If he is very aged and decrepit he may be excused to some extent, but every now and again he must totter forth to preserve the letter of the law and show a proper example of humility. His dress is the same as that of the most recently admitted ko-yin, and in the eyes of the world he holds honour, not because he controls the affairs of the assembly, but because he is so close to the verge of Ne'ban. This feeling extends beyond the order into ordinary life. The religion brings all men down to the same level. The poor man may be a king of nats in the next life; the wealthy sinner may frizzle in the awful pains of hell. There is no difference between man and man but that which is established by superiority in virtue; [562] and hence it is that the state of women among Buddhists is so very much higher than it is among Oriental peoples, who do not hold by that faith. The Burmese woman enjoys many rights which her European sister is even now clamouring for.

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We have seen that the whole male population of Burma enters the monastery, and that the great majority leave after a very short stay. Some, however, grow fond of the monastic ways, and remain to study and qualify themselves to be mendicants. In becoming pyin-sin they do not acquire any new spiritual power, nor do they constitute themselves directly teachers of the people. In a religious system, which acknowledges no supreme Deity, it is impossible for any one to intercede with a Creator whose existence is denied, in behalf of a man who can only attain to a higher state by his own pious life and earnest self-denial. The

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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of the fundamental precepts, and are not so ludicrous as some unbelievers would make out, except for the fact that they are set down so precisely when they might have been left to the imagination.

A monk must not build a monastery for himself without the aid of a benefactor. If his piety and talents are not such as to induce a layman to build a kyaung for him, let him patiently remain in the house into which he was ordained. He must see that the foundations of a monastery are not laid in a place where there are many insects or worms, which would thus be killed.

For a similar reason he must not dig himself, except in a sandy place, where there can be no animal life. Neither must he spit, nor do anything of that kind on green grass, nor in fresh water, nor is he allowed to climb trees. There was a discussion in the Lord Buddha's time as to whether vegetation could be regarded as anywhere in the ladder of existence. Shin Gautama, on being asked, said it could not. Still trees and grass must not be destroyed, for they support life in other creatures. A yahan may not drive in a carriage or ride a pony. He must not travel in the same boat or remain under the same roof with a woman, or even with a female animal. When he walks abroad he must neither walk fast nor dawdle and lounge about the streets. He must allow no woman to wash or clean his robes, nor eat food cooked by female hands, if he can get any other; if a woman offers rice in her hand, he may take but not eat it. He must not look into a brother's thabeit, as suggesting that he does not receive much alms. He must not eat his food to the last mouthful, and must avoid highly-seasoned dishes as tending to heat the blood.

In return for their self-denial the pyin-sin are bountifully honoured by the people, from the sovereign on the throne, who vacates his seat for the thā-thanā-baing, to the beggar in the street who prostrates himself in the dust when the yahan passes by. In the country villages all make obeisance when the mendicant passes, and the women kneel down on each side of the road. Such outward marks of respect are not usual in the larger towns, but there is no lack of veneration, and all make way for the monk when he walks abroad.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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The oldest layman assumes the title of disciple to the last inducted pyin-sin, and, with clasped hands, addresses him as payā, the highest title the language affords. The monk's commonest actions, walking, eating, sleeping, are referred to in honorific language, different from that which would be used of a layman, or even of the king, performing the same thing. The highest officials bow down before them, and impose upon themselves the greatest sacrifices, both of time and money, to build splendid kyaungs for them, and minister to their wants. Finally, the monk's person is sacred and inviolable. Nothing he does can subject him to the civil law. He bears the title of Thagiwin Mintha, Thagiwin Prince, as the heir of the scion of Kapilawut, and receiver of his inheritance.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XXVI

SILK-GROWING

REARING silkworms, though a very profitable occupation, is not looked upon with any favour in Burma. To get the silk the pupa must be killed; and the taking of life in any form is an impiety always looked upon with great horror by all good Buddhists. Silk-growers are classed together with professional hunters and fishermen. The Four States of Punishment yawn for them, and their portion will be in the lowest abyss of the lowest hell. Still there are colonies of silk-growers in various parts of the country; but they live apart from the rest of the inhabitants as a rule, and often have entire villages to themselves. Colonel Horace Browne who, more than any other Englishman took an interest in the ways and occupations of the districts under his charge, states that the cultivators near Prome, where more silk is produced than in any part of Burma, are nearly all Yabeins —a race of the same stock as the Burmese, but despised by them independently of their crime in the way of habitually taking animal life. So much has the cultivation of silk become identified with them, that to Burman ears the term Yabein is virtually synonymous with that of silk-grower. They usually live on the hillsides, occupying themselves like the poorer Burmans and Karens, with taung-ya cultivation; burning the forests on the slopes and sowing the ground thus enriched with the wood ashes, with rice, cotton, or oil-seed. The system is viewed with very little approval by the government officials, for the taung-ya soil, hardly exhausted by the single crop raised off it, immediately produces a dense shrub-growth of no use to anybody, certainly not to the foresters.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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533 person's body in evidence of having carried out their orders. Then when the next palace concert came on, the king—his late majesty—would grow tired of the ordinary vocalists and regret that the great improvisatore was gone. Whereupon Maung Tha Byaw would promptly come forth and sing his sweetest. He was killed in this way several times, but in the end died a natural death, about the same time as his contemporary Yindaw Ma Le.

533 554 The honours he received were quite on a par with European estimation of musical talent. He had a patent to carry a golden umbrella, and, as Thabinwun, had magisterial powers to punish those who offended him or refused to obey his edicts. Two lictors went before him to clear the way, a white cloth being tied round their fasces as a distinctive mark. When he performed in a play a low yaza mat, or royal fence, extended across the front of the stage, and at the ends were planted his golden hti and a banana-tree. The latter distinction was also granted to Maung Tha Zan and Maung Mu, singers only inferior to the Thabinwun himself.

533 177-53 538 If the tunes are not easily reduced to regular rules, the difficulty with the metres is not less. There exist, indeed, written laws ordaining the number of feet to the verse, but they are as lightly regarded as is consistent with their recognition at all. Much more precision is indeed expected in the old tunes than in those of modern date, but even with them song-writers of the present time allow themselves considerable freedom. The original linga are all very short. Thus the pyo has but four syllables; kabya, four; yatu, six and four; luta, four; yagan, six and four; èkyin, four, five, and six; hmawlôn, four and six; paikzôn, four; legyo, four; sagyin, four, five, and six; and so forth. In the thanzan, or new tunes, however, the compass of the lines often approaches the portentous length of some of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. Such modern tunes are the kayāthan (so-called English), dobatthan, nabethan, nanthein yodaya (Siamese), and pyigyithan (Chinese). Such compositions as the lôngyin and ngogyin cannot be designated otherwise than as musical prose, with occasional fits of metre, prompted by their dolorous character. They are the

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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These personal examples furnished by the teacher of neh'ban and the Law himself have only served to emphasise what is seen on the admission of every new member to the holy assembly. One of the articles with which, in addition to his dress and begging-bowl, every postulant must provide himself, is a strainer, without using which he must drink no water. The object is, of course, to prevent him from destroying life in the shape of the small animalcula to be found in water. Some zealous and scientific proselytiser endeavoured, by the use of microscopes, to persuade the people that this was of no avail, seeing that even in the strained water there was abundance of animal life; but a council decided that, provided the water had been filtered, if the ascetic could detect nothing living with his unaided eyes he was at liberty to drink the water without incurring blood-guiltiness. The attacks of science on Buddhism failed as completely as the efforts of most missionaries.

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The mingled pity and dislike with which professional hunters and fishermen, whose occupation implies the regular taking of life, are viewed by Buddhists, is well known, and makes itself evident in the fact that the villains in most plays are hunters. Fishermen are perhaps not so much decried—possibly on account of the plea brought forward on their behalf, that the fish die of themselves, being taken out of the water, and not through any direct action of their captors. It is in connection with fish, however, that one of the most curious national works of merit takes place annually—furnishing, like all Burmese festivals, occasion for much fun and frolic.

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The violence of the rain during the five or six months of the south-west monsoon floods the country. Not only do the rivers, which in many places rise regularly as much as thirty or forty feet above their hot-weather level—not only do they overflow their banks, and make wide seas of the neighbouring flat lands, but great lakes spring up everywhere. These are gradually stocked with fish of all kinds, most of which, by the sudden fall of the water, are cut off from all chance of retreat to the large rivers, where alone there is safety. Steadily the water goes down, the hot sun sucks up the pools, till at last the end seems to be come. The river

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 APl Burma
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CHAPTER XLV

SLAVES AND OUTCASTS

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IT is a work of the greatest possible merit to build a pagoda, and the founder, prefixing Payātaga to his signature, for the rest of his life is looked upon as certain to pass into ne'ban on the completion of this his present existence. Similarly a man acquires great kutho by repairing portions of one of the old national shrines, putting up a new umbrella on the summit, setting the steps that lead up to the platform in order, or even by simply gilding afresh a few square feet on a feast day. By doing any one of these things a man sets his balance of kan on the right side and gains the good opinion of his neighbours. It is, therefore, not unnatural that all foreigners should be struck with the fact that the regular servitors of the places of worship, those who sweep the platform, carry off dead leaves, broken branches, and litter generally, and keep the place in order, are not only slaves, but are regarded as outcasts with whom the rest of the community will have no dealings and whose society is contaminating. Not only is the original parakyun a slave for life, for no one, not even a king, can liberate him or provide a substitute in his place, but his descendants, till the cycle of Shin Gautama's religion shall have come to an end and all the relics shall vanish from the earth, all his children throughout the thousands of years that have to elapse, are fixed and settled slaves of the pagoda from their birth, and any one marrying a pagoda slave, even unwittingly, becomes himself, with all the children he may have had by a previous wife, irremediably a parakyun. The reason no doubt lies in the conviction of the existence of original sin. It is desirable

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER LII

THE LORD WHITE ELEPHANT

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THE importance attached to the possession of a white elephant is traceable to the Buddhist system. The form in which Gautama Buddha entered the womb of Queen Maya to be born upon earth for the last time to "teach the Law and give the millions peace" was that of a white elephant. The Saddan, or celestial elephant, was an avatar of his many existences previously. The Saddan is gifted with special endowments, and is one of the seven precious things the possession of which marks the Sekyawadé, the Mahā Chakra Vartti Raja, "the great wheel-turning king," the holy and universal sovereign—a ruler who appears in once a cycle, at the time when the waxing and waning term of human life has reached its maximum of an athinkaya (a huge period represented by a unit and 164 cyphers) in duration. Thus the possession of an undoubted white elephant stands as a sign and symbol of universal sovereignty; and every Burmese king longed for the capture of such a treasure during his reign as a token that his legitimate royalty is recognised by the unseen powers. The great river of Burma, the Irrawaddy, is named from Airawata, the elephant of Indra, a sufficient assertion of the proper dwelling-place of all his successors. Hence the reverence of the Hindoos for the animal, and their not infrequent pilgrimages to Mandalay to see the royal creature and have a dursun, or interview of worship, with him.

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All the elephants in the country, whether wild or tame, belonged to the king: whoever captured one had to give him up to the king, and he granted permission to the princes and to a few of the higher dignitaries to use them. The

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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lucky discoverer of a white elephant was made a mingyi, and was exempted from taxes and burdens of every kind for the rest of his life. Red and spotted elephants were also held in great esteem.

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White crows, rats, mice, and hares are common and easily distinguished; but it is different with a white elephant. He is not to be considered as snow-white: very far from it. All the white elephants now existing in Siam and Burma are of a light mouse colour, somewhat of the same tint as the pale freckles to be found on the trunk of almost every ordinary elephant. This light grey is uniform all over, the spots on the trunk being white. The depth of the colour, however, varies greatly; and there are often blemishes in the shape of darker patches which would seem to ruin an otherwise eligible candidate's claims. It has been therefore found necessary to determine some infallible test points, which will demonstrate the right of the animal to his title. Determining white elephants is quite a science, and there is a very considerable literature on the subject. The Burmese skilled men fix upon two of these tests as superior to all others. One is that the elephant shall have five toe-nails on his hind feet instead of four. This is a good way of making certain, but occasionally there are indubitably black elephants which have the sacred number of toes. These [775] are white elephants debased by sin, labouring under the evil kan of previous existences, and therefore ineligible for the honours accorded to the real animal. The other test is considered perfectly decisive, no matter what the precise tint of the skin may be. It is this: if you pour water upon a "white" elephant he turns red, while a black elephant only becomes blacker than ever. This is the final test always resorted to in Mandalay. A swarthy specimen who had twenty toe-nails and turned red when he was washed would be forthwith installed in all the honours and emoluments of the Sinbyudaw, no matter what scoffers might say about his colour. Such a creature was the last Lord White Elephant in Mandalay. He would not have been recognised as an albino by any except those who are learned in the science and well versed in the voluminous and puzzling minutiæ of the question. To most people he seemed an impostor, for

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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643 flung the spear at one or two of his father's trusted advisers; but it is not recorded that he ever actually killed anybody with his own hands. In fact, he got on fairly well with his ministers, having drilled the seniors into complete submission to his wishes, and appointed among the younger members those
645 who were most of his own way of thinking. The most
554 characteristic man in the Cabinet was the Hlethin Atwinwun, better known as the Hpaungwun. He was only of the second official grade, but none of the four wunmingyis had any real power. They dated from the last reign, and were practically over-ridden by the younger party. The king did, it is true, marry the daughter of the Kampat Mingyi, but that stolid old gentleman was always remarkable for his disinclination to do anything at all, and was not at all likely to exert himself unduly for the sake of precarious pre-eminence. Therefore the ex-Mayor of Mandalay, in conjunction with the Yanaung prince, a favourite of the Queen Supayalat's, and one or two others of the young Burman party, became the most representative ministers.

The Atwinwun wore the dragon tattooed on the nape of his neck. Fourteen years before he was a slave, and in position little better than a coolie. His rise from this rank might have been a credit to him if it had been effected by his own powers. But he rose by a mere accident, and carried all the tendencies of his original position with him. In 1866, when two of King Thibaw's half-brothers, the Myingun and Myingundaing princes, rose in rebellion against their father, the late king, the Hpaungwun — he seems more familiar under his old title—was one of the guards in the palace. After the rebels had killed their uncle, "the War Prince," they made for the Summer Palace, where the king was at the time along with Colonel Sladen, the British Resident. The Summer Palace is a small building outside the stockade of the actual nandaw, and it was foreseen that his majesty would make immediately for the eastern gate, which is quite close at hand. A man was therefore stationed there with orders to kill King Mindôn whenever he made his appearance. All happened as had been surmised with one slight exception. Royal blood in Mandalay never went outside the palace on its own legs, and when his majesty

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reached the gate he promptly jumped on the intending regicide's back and bade him carry him over the esplanade. The man was so overcome by the royal presence, or so slavishly accustomed to do what he was ordered, that he obeyed. When they were safe within the inner stockade he stooped down to let the king dismount, and his sword fell from the folds of his waistcloth. None but the king may carry arms within the nandaw, and the Hpaungwun, grasping the situation, snatched up the sword and cut the man's head off. Mindôn Min, with a curious regard for this mixture of barbarity and rapidity of action, made the coolie a subordinate official on the spot, and since then the Hpaungwun has gone on distinguishing himself as on this occasion. He was promoted successively through the grades of slipper-bearer, tea-server, and betel-box holder to that of the Governor of the Royal Rafts or Barges (Hpaungwun), and Mayor of Mandalay (Myowun), which latter steps he gained through his activity in the palace massacres —loyalty and energy his patent called it. King Thibaw found in the prompt and ruthless wun a willing and enthusiastic helper in the murder of the princes and princesses. Naturally he was one of the king's firmest supporters, for Thibaw's fall meant his own certain death. His squat figure and vulturine face made him the most easily recognised of the court circle, and he repaid the aversion of Englishmen with a most demonstrative hatred. Perhaps this was because his features, and especially his nose, suggested a European among his forebears. As Hlethin Atwinwun, or Minister of the Interior, he had supreme command over all the lower fluviatile provinces, and had a large military force at his command. He escaped punishment and became a trader after the annexation.

Equally high in the king's favour, and not less fierce in their denunciation of the English, were the Taingda Atwinwun and the Yenangyaung, also of the same second grade. They, too, were prominent in the massacres, and were reputed to drink curaçoa in tumblers. If they really did, it would account for a great deal. Both were slaves of the young Thibaw prince when he was a boy in the English Missionary school, and followed his fortunes into the Royal

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Monastery. As chiefs of the Letthôndaw, the Royal Page Bodyguard, they had the opportunity which won their rank. A daughter of the Taingda married the Hpaungwun, and the Atwinwun in consequence gave occasional dinners to the European and quasi-European dwellers in Mandalay. The guests were, as a rule, not in a position to brave his anger by a refusal, and had to endure most elaborate indignities at his hands. All the most humiliating formalities of the palace had to be observed towards the young minister, and the *menu* was said, by the victims, to be the worst of them all. In regard to this, it must be remembered that it took a very great deal to hurt the dignity of some Mandalay Europeans, and also that they were as fickle as any mob.

These three atwinwuns were the most powerful ministers, and had greater influence with the king than any of their technical superiors. The four wungyis were, with the exception of the Upathi, of very little account with any one. The Laungshwe Mingyi had been for long nearly bed-ridden, and was not able to appear even at Mindôn's funeral. The other three had all been in Europe, but the most that can be said of the Kampat Mingyi is that he became the king's father-in-law, while the Yaw was absent for nearly two years on an expedition against the Shan mountaineers. He effected nothing warlike, and rumour said that he was so fully occupied in keeping the troops from dispersing to their homes that he had no time to fight. The fourth, however, was a remarkable man. The Upathi, better known as the Kinwunmingyi, had been very prominent for years, and he lived for twenty years after the annexation as a pensioner of the British Government. He used to be commonly spoken of as the premier on English analogy, but there was really no such dignitary known in Burma, and the Kinwungyi's substantive appointment was simply that of foreign secretary. He was twice to Europe on embassies, and his naturally acute mind was thus enlarged in its views. Had it not been for his great command over the public feeling, and his influence even over King Thibaw, there would certainly have been war between Burma and Great Britain in 1879. The foreign secretary was the representative of order and it was a bad thing for the

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country when he was almost entirely driven from power, if not from office. He was a master of oriental craft, and tided through all the intrigues against him. He held a document from the late king, granting him immunity from all kinds of death. The list is a very frightful one, and ranges from vulgar, obvious beheading to the refined cruelty of throwing on a spread-eagled victim a nest of the fierce red ants known as kāgyin, whose mandibles drive a man raving mad in little over a quarter of an hour. But the palm-leaf patent would have been of little avail without a head that was well able to take care of itself. Like many of the older and better ministers, the Upathi Mingyi came from the cloister to office. On Mindôn's accession to the throne, he at once appointed the Pakhan Mingyi from a monastery to be an atwinwun, and in no very great time to the supreme rank of mingyi, a skipping of the lower grades which was very unusual, as was also the circumstance that the new minister married one of King Tharrawaddy's widows. The Kin Wungyi was in the Pakhan's monastery, shared his rise, and when the patron, who never lost the bilious, monkish look, and the cold, stiff pôngyi's manner, obtained the deliverance, succeeded him as mingyi. Had he been permitted, the foreign secretary would have made Burma a very different country from what it was.

The Upathi was certainly a superior man, and compiled some valuable digests of Burmese law after his retirement in Rangoon, but undoubtedly the most singular of the Mandalay court officials was the Pangyet Wun. He was a polished gentleman, spoke English fairly and French and Italian fluently, and had considerably more than a veneer of civilisation. As a boy he was at school in Calcutta, and having been well grounded there, proceeded to France. There he took his degree at the Panthéon, obtained a diploma in the Central Imperial School of Arts and Manufactures in Paris, and was altogether nearly twelve years in Europe. Notwithstanding his reminiscences of Mabille and the Champs Elysées, however, he accommo- ted himself very well to circumstances. When the young n returned to Mandalay, King Mindôn had a long talk w h him, and finally said: "And these foreigners, then, have

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they in any of their cities buildings such as adorn our Royal City of Gems?" Alas! your majesty," he replied, "the luckless people have not the magnificent teak; how, then, can they hope to raise anything comparable to the meanest of your palaces?" This courtier-like caution never deserted the Pangyet Wun. He never meddled with politics, and was content with his governorship of the glass manufactories, which meant anything or nothing, and commanded a nominal salary. But none of the ministers had any salary from King Thibaw, so that the cultured sinecurist was not worse off than his fellows. He consorted a good deal with foreigners, but averted suspicion by saying that it was merely to keep up his knowledge of their languages. No doubt he might have had a much higher post, but he had enough money, and did not care to run the risk of trying for more. That was also his view during the crisis and after the annexation.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER LXIII

A PÔNGYI BYAN

THE veneration and respect which meet the yahan all through his life are extended to his remains when he dies, or rather when he leaves this world. The monk does not "die" as a common layman does, he does not even, like the king, "ascend to the nat-dêwas' village." The holy man in his last existence must have been holy in order to have accumulated the sum of merits which enabled him upon earth to remain steadfast in the sacred order. When he passes away, he "returns" to the highest heavens of nats, or to the meditative states of zān, or perhaps even to the pure and immaterial realms of arupa. Therefore a mendicant's funeral is called a pôngyi byan —the return of the great glory. Even a junior member is burnt with great solemnity and state; but when a distinguished brother dies, one famous for his learning, his austerity, or the great number of Lents he has spent in the cloister, the obsequies swell into a ceremonial which attracts people from all parts of the country.

As soon as life leaves the body, the corpse is carefully washed in the usual way by the dead pôngyi's chief supporters and some of the monastic scholars. Then the intestines are taken out and buried in a quiet corner of the monastery grounds, or near the pagoda. The cavity of the stomach is then filled up with hot ashes, sawdust, a few spices, and whatever other available substances may be presumed likely to dry up the humours, and then the skin is sewed together again. A layer of wax is sometimes spread all over the body, but more often it is simply tightly swathed in white cloth from head to foot. This linen cloth is then

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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Can anyone ever tell when the influence of a monk has been other than for pity or mercy? Surely they believe their religion? I did not know how people could believe till I saw them.

Martyrdom—what is martyrdom, what is death, for your religion, compared to living within its commands? Death is easy; life it is that is difficult. Men have died for many things: love and hate, and religion and science, for patriotism and avarice, for self-conceit and sheer vanity, for all sorts of things, of value and of no value. Death proves nothing. Even a coward can die well. But a pure life is the outcome only of the purest religion, of the greatest belief, of the most magnificent courage. Those who can live like this can die, too, if need be—have done so often and often; that is but a little matter indeed. No Buddhist would consider that as a very great thing beside a holy life.

There is another difference between us. We think a good death hallows an evil life; no Buddhist would hear of this for a moment.

The reverence in which a monk—ay, even the monk to-day who was but an ordinary man yesterday—is held by the people is very great. All those who address him do so kneeling. Even the king himself was lower than a monk, took a lower seat than a monk in the palace. He is addressed as 'Lord,' and those who address him are his disciples. Poor as he is, living on daily charity, without any power or authority of any kind, the greatest in the land would dismount and yield the road that he should pass. Such is the people's reverence for a holy life. Never was such voluntary homage

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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792 yielded to any as to these monks. There is a
554 special language for them, the ordinary language
198 of life being too low to be applied to their actions. They do not sleep or eat or walk as do other men.

792 It seems strange to us, coming from our land where poverty is an offence, where the receipt of alms is a degradation, where the ideal is power, to see here all this reversed. The monks are the poorest of the poor, they are dependent on the people for their daily bread; for although lands may be given to a monastery—as a matter of fact, very few have any at all, and those only a few palm-trees—they have no power at all, either temporal or eternal; they are not very learned, and yet they are the most honoured of all people. Without any of the attributes which in our experience gather the love and honour of mankind, they are honoured above all men.

The Burman demands from the monk no assistance in heavenly affairs, no interference in worldly, only this, that he should live as becomes a follower of the great teacher. And because he does so live the Burman reverences him beyond all others. The king is feared, the wise man admired, perhaps envied, the rich man is respected, but the monk is honoured and loved. There is no one beside him in the heart of the people. If you would know what a Burman would be, see what a monk is: that is his ideal. But it is a very difficult ideal. The Burman is very fond of life, very full of life, delighting in the joy of existence, brimming over with vitality, with humour, with merriment. They are a young people, in the full flush of early nationhood. To them of all

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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586 'I did not know,' she said; 'I was hot-tempered. I was foolish. But now I know. Ah! the house is so lonely! I have but two ears, I have but two eyes, and the house is so large.'

But the husband refused again.

'What is done, is done. Marriage is not to be taken off and put on like a jacket. I have made up my mind.'

[762] Then he went away, and after a little the woman went away too. She went straight to the big, lonely house, and there she hanged herself.

You see, she loved him all the time, but did not know till too late.

Men do not often apply for divorce except for very good cause, and with their minds fully made up to obtain it. They do obtain it, of course.

586 177 647 With this facility for divorce, it is remarkable how uncommon it is. In the villages and amongst respectable Burmans in all classes of life it is a great exception to divorce or to be divorced. The only class amongst whom it is at all common is the class of hangers-on to our Administration, the clerks and policemen, and so on. I fear there is little that is good to be said of many of them. It is terrible to see how demoralizing our contact is to all sorts and conditions of men. To be attached to our Administration is almost a stigma of disreputableness. I remember remarking once to a headman that a certain official seemed to be quite regardless of public opinion in his life, and asked him if the villagers did not condemn him. And the headman answered with surprise: 'But he is an official'; as if officials were quite *super grammaticam* of morals.

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262 779 and these were sold occasionally. It is ten years since King Thibaw was overthrown, and there is now no law against the sale of beef. And yet, as I have said, no respectable Burman will even now kill or sell beef. The law was founded on the beliefs of the people, and though the law is dead, the beliefs remain.

231 779 It is true that the taking of life is against Buddhist commands. No life at all may be taken by him who adheres to Buddhistic teaching. Neither for sport, nor for revenge, nor for food, may any animal be deprived of the breath that is in it. And this is a command wonderfully well kept. There are a few exceptions, but they are known and accepted as breaches of the law, for the law itself knows no exceptions. Fish, as I have said, can be obtained almost everywhere. They are caught in great quantities in the river, and are sold in most bazaars, either fresh or salted. It is one of the staple foods of the Burmese. But although they [443] will eat fish, they despise the fisherman. Not so [554] much, perhaps, as if he killed other living things, but still, the fisherman is an outcast from decent society. He will have to suffer great and terrible punishment before he can be cleansed from the sins that he daily commits. Notwithstanding this, there are many fishermen in Burma.

A fish is a very cold-blooded beast. One must be very hard up for something to love to have any affection to spare upon fishes. They cannot be, or at all events they never are, domesticated, and most of them are not beautiful. I am not aware that they have ever been known to display any

General Attitudes of the Burmese toward Work.

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Rank and status in the Burmese Village is determined to a large extent on the basis of occupation - with the factor of wealth where applicable taking precedence over occupation. The highest rank is accorded to the Buddhist monks who exert the ultimate influence. Government officials including the township officers, the THU GYI (headman) and elders, and the schoolmaster occupy the second rank. The large land owners (of this group the rice-mill owners rate highest) rank next. Below these are the tradesmen - the paddy dealers, shop keepers and small holdings farmers who comprise the bulk of the population. Professional artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, gold and silver smiths occupy a lower position. However, it is common for the small holdings farmers to practice a secondary occupation such as pottery making.

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Fishermen and hunters are looked down on by the rest of the community because they offend Buddhist precepts by taking life. In this class also are those who raise animals (cows, poultry, pigs) for food, smugglers and brewers. Fishermen, particularly those such as U Myaing who operate IN fisheries often become wealthy, but the stigma of the source of this wealth is remembered by the community.

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A story is told of a rich fisherman who came to cover the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon with gold plate. Unfortunately, he had sinned so much by taking the lives of fish that he could not see the pagoda. In a rage he returned to his IN to cover its posts with the gold. Because of the stigma attached to fishing those who make their living in this way tend to live together in their own communities. Thus Pathme, U Myaing's village is primarily a fisherman's community.

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In the days of the Burmese kings, wealthy men and nobles (THAKIN) would assign people under their command to serve as pagoda slaves. Their names were engraved in stone and their descendants for all eternity assigned to this position. The duties were light - consisting mainly of sweeping the platforms and carrying for the images, but the social position was next to the lowest. It is believed that the flower vendors on the platform of the Rangoon

pagodas and those throughout the country are descendants of the pagoda slaves.

Beggars are rated below the pagoda slaves - but, because of the Buddhist merit associated with giving do well for themselves. The beggars live in communities on the outskirts of the town often in cemetaries. They are thought to exhume the dead to get the coins placed in the mouth of the deceased to ensure expenses on his journey to heaven. The wood of the coffin is believed to be used in constructing their huts. Professional undertakers or morticians are regarded with horror since they like the beggars, make their living from the dead. The functions of burial are performed gratis by the entire village. A story is currently going round the University dormitories telling of an immensely wealthy Burmese coffin maker in Rangoon who has offered riches to the young man who will marry his beautiful daughter. When the future seems blank the students' friend advises "Hey, why don't you go and marry the coffin maker's daughter?" It seems that the money would scarcely compensate for the social discrimation. The extent to which the occupation classes are rigid in marriage and other social exchanges is an interesting problem.

A young man is obliged to remain within the occupation class of his family or to rise to greater heights. He is advised at an early age to "be simple, aim high, and tell the truth." When children play at dacoits (thieves) of other "low class" games their parents object to their low aspirations and advise them to play nobles and ministers. One would feel justified in remaining idle rather than accept a position below that of his birth. It is better to accept a clerks job at a low salary than an artisans at a high salary. On the other hand those born into lower status occupation groups tend to be satisfied with their state as a condition of birth. In Rangoon, however, even the hawkers may have ambitions to achieve fame and fortune. The opportunities for social mobility is greater in the towns and cities but difinitely restricted in the villages.

Apprenticeship to trades begins at the age of 12 to 14 years, and usually lasts for several years. Ordinarily the youth is attached to the shop of a relative where he lives and is payed a subsistence wage while learning. The key to high positions lies in education in

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461 The key to high positions lies in education in
555 the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for
873 this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed
602 for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate
[538] the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

555 In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities:
777 KAMMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness
152 The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily,
602 however, KAMMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two credited for success. The concept of KAMMA includes merit and demerit compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an advantageous marriage within or above his occupational group.

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556 What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not
•554 subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the
461 villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

554 The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major benefits
301 to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to
461 adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies. Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry. The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's clothing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they can afford.

461 The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age
554 security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when
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the husband is too old to work. Aged parents are invariably respected but those who can still support themselves are "worshipped". Parents do not rely on their sons who have their own families to support but feel that their daughters will always "bring them a cup of curry".

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The third urge is to have wealth to donate to the Buddhist church. This is regarded as a sound investment since it not only brings a most satisfying honour especially in old age (to be a "pagoda giver") but also counts as merit credited to the individual's account in eternity.

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Competition is keenly felt between individuals and families of the same occupation group or adjacent groups but not between the lower and upper classes. An exception is where family traditional land has changed hands - and hard feelings may persist. A carpenter's family does not envy and covet the riches of a government official's family. His lot is due to KARMA and even if he wished to attain such fortune it would be beyond his abilities. More important, it is not expected of him. So the carpenter is content with cheap jewelry for his women and an occasional gold coin - but the pattern is the same as for the upper class. However among the individuals and families of an occupation level there is much rivalry for the benefits wealth can bring. It is a point of pride to have the largest diamonds at a social function, and to give the biggest pagoda. Wives brag that their husbands "prevent the hairs of their hands from singeing" - that they have servants to cook. Rank and recognition are based on these considerations.

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The women of the family exert powerful influence in financial matters and are respected for their sound judgement. Women's occupations include cigar manufacturing, pottery making, and especially shop keeping.

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The beginning of an enterprise is conditioned by the wisdom of the ancients and especially the date and place which are given by formula in the Burmese calendar. There are NEI-HAZA (day king of) "fortunate days" and PYAD-THADA "unlucky days". For example the calendar announces that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of a particular month are fortunate days to begin enterprises, and other days either unfortunate or neutral. Rangoon sophisticates (but never villagers) tell such stories as this: Two phongyis travelled by boat; the first boarded the boat on a fortunate day to begin travelling. The next day the boat came to the second phongyi's village. This was an unfortunate

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day on the calendar but the second phongyi decided to embark anyway. Both phongyis were lost when the boat sank that day.

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The revered position of phongyis is open to all regardless of birth or position. It is felt that some take up the robe because they are unsuccessful in life, or wish an "easy living" - but perhaps this attitude is one of modern sophisticates. Certainly the dominant position of the brotherhood is unchallenged. Occasionally differences arise between the headman and the phongyis of a village. But the phongyis invariably prevail. Offending laymen can be "deprived the gate of heaven" by phongyis refusing to accept HSOON, alms, from th This is called inverting the begging bowl THA-BEIT-MAUK-TAI (Begging bowl-upturn) and is the current phrase for any sort of a "strike".

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Some unprincipalled phongyis have sought to enrich themselves by accepting gifts of land or other property, or by selling gifts for money to traders. When they leave the brotherhood and become laymen again this property becomes theirs. Such occurences appear to be rare and are controlled by stipulations of the givers. For example a donor would hesitate to give paddy land to a suspected phongyi but might agree to giving the crops while retaining title.

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The government or administrative class is looked up to with great respect - in part a carry over from the days of royalty, in part an attitude towards power and influence. However, while the villager today may not know the details of the new constitution he knows there is a "code" wherein he can secure impartial justice.

General Burmese Attitudes about and Usages of Personal Accoutrement.

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"LU-HMAR-AH-MOOT-TAING-HMAR-AH-COOT" — "People must have decent dress just as a basket must have a rim" expresses the basic attitude of the Burmese towards personal accoutrement. By "decent" is meant fitting and proper to a person's station in life and the occasion. Most important, the garments must be clean and maintained in a state of repair. The cotton objects are cleaned by whacking on rock slabs at a water source; the silk garments are aired in the sun and shaken and when absolutely necessary washed - this removes the crispness for which they are valued. Recently dry cleaning establishments have operated in Rangoon. But these are quite expensive and used extensively only by the wealthy. "If one has only one shirt it must be white (i.e. clean)".

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Perhaps the most important means of asserting status is by personal accoutrement. The value of jewels, fine silks for the women of the family has been mentioned above. The Burmese have a low opinion of the person who does not dress up to his station. But are also scornful of those who dress above their qualifications. For example, a man who wears the religious all white costume inappropriately is called CHAUK-THU-DAW (cat-goodman) or pretender. The story is told of a cat who always faced the sun with open jaws. When visiting rats asked why he replied that the rays of the sun nourished him. Yet the last of the visiting rats invariably disappeared into the cat's paw. A war-time atrocity story records the sad tale of a Burmese maiden who was too poor to afford a decent longyi and therefore was forced to commit suicide.

The variety of different longyis worn also indicate status. It is said that some wealthy Rangoon ladies buy a new silk longyi for each social occasion - and rapidly discard them when slightly soiled. In the main, however, the Burmese "pay great respect to their clothes" and boast rather of wearing clothes that are years old - thus indicating the high quality of the cloth. Young girls frequently have Mandalay silk longyis handed down to them by their grandmothers. Success is indicated by the constant increase in quality and quantity

of clothes. The old people take care to save the torn garments for use in wiping the hands after meals, for handling hot pots on the stove and the like. 291 554 181

There are three classes of clothing (1) working clothes (2) festive dress, and (3) religious dress. The working clothes consist of the cheaper and less ornate fabrics and are mainly of cotton. The men usually bind the longyi around the loins by looping the shirt in a band between the legs. Htamein (women's longyi) waist band is secured under the armpits when bathing. 291 292

While walking in the rain the longyis are also raised to prevent them from becoming wet. Festive dress involves the best which one has, usually silks and are worn on the Sabbath days and at special social occasions as the SHIN BYÀ and other ceremonies. Religious dress is worn constantly by Pongyis (orange robes), nuns (peach coloured) and frequently by old men (white) and old women (light chocolate coloured). On Sabbath days the particularly religious individuals of all ages, especially those belonging to Buddhist lay societies, wear religious dress. 291 779 [575]

The term LONGYI means "lower apparel" and is applied to both men's (PUSO) and women's (HTAMEIN). The men's festive longyi TAUNG-SHAY-PUSO (taung measurement- twenty-puso) worn frequently in the past and now reserved for special occasions was a double silk PUSO 8 yards long. A special method of securing this garment about the waist results in GABON ZA ("Sticking out piece") a fold which protrudes 6 or more inches in the midline - only, however, when the silk is crisp and stiff (new and/or finest heavy quality). This is regarded as a very manly garment. Two styles of APAW HINGYI (over jacket) men's jacket are worn. The "Peking" type meeting at the mid-line is most common. A "Cantonese" type buttons over like the women's jacket at the side. 291 292

Formerly every young man had tattooed thighs, extending in a solid band of decoration from a few inches above the knees to the hips. The motifs were frequently nat symbols. The main purpose was to display manliness and courage since the process of tattooing, [illegible] a 3 pronged fork dipped in pigment was extremely painful. 304 562 178

302 on top of the head. Scented hair oil is used by both sexes on
177 special occasions.
369
291 The HTAMEIN is regarded as "unworthy" for a man to touch. A
562 severe insult is for a wife to request her husband to bring her
183 HTAMEIN or to wash it. Drying HTAMEINS in the front of the house is never allowed; and it is strictly forbidden for this garment to touch any pongyi utensils. Parents instruct their boys never to pass under the strings of a line of which HTAMEINS are drying as such is thought to take away the masculine powers, and render the tattooed charms ineffective. Men and women's clothes are washed and stored separately.

[593] When a son neglects his mother after marriage she will complain with rage that he has not come out of the HTAMEIN and is under the HTAMEIN government of his wife.

291 Women usually wear solid black HTAMEINS during menstruation.
841 Boys, in jest, inform one of their companions that he may now become serious when the girl of his choice appears in a black dress for the first time.

Slippers of both sexes are regarded as "dirty" objects and are left outside of the houses. They are strictly prohibited in pagoda enclosures and land. When a girl is angry at a teasing boy (or quarrelling with a woman) she will threaten to slap his face with her sandal. This is a double insult since the head is regarded as a particularly sacred part of the body. Barbers must ask permission and apologise for touching the heads of their customers.

291 Western clothing has a higher status than Burmese clothing in
177 certain situations and on certain occasions especially where western
●554 people are present in suits. However, for most occasions, everyday or special, the Burmese costume is preferred. When abroad the Burmese men usually wear western garb. The wearer of western clothes

[186] is often open to the taunt that he is "Bo Gyi (term for Englishmen) made in Burma". There is a strong feeling in all cases to be "properly" dressed and not to stand out from the rest of the group. This tendency is stronger in men than women who with their jewels and fine silks attempt to rival each other in a contest for social posi-

[562] tion. Burmese girl students who go abroad almost invariably wear their native costumes.

his lot. It also tends toward a kind of stratification of society where the boundaries, however, are neither sharp nor fast. Each person is comfortably installed in his place and competes, mildly, only with those of his own level. The obligations (as contributions for ceremonies) are in terms of one's ability, and his status is in terms of his virtues. Status is closely correlated with increasing age. This concept motivate the Burmese in the village within "KARMA groups". 181 156 364 555 [561] [554]●

The unusual individual may transcend his family positions in exceptional cases - by marriage or achievement. Achievement by physical force has been a means of mobility in the past - there is the tradition of the strong man leader who comes from humble origins. Mobility by entrepreneur achievement (rice mill owners; traders) has been greatly stimulated with increased western contacts. U Myaing was a sort of entrepreneur in Pathwe. In Rangoon the opportunities are great and some Burmese are successfully embracing this, as yet, somewhat unfamiliar course. The western entrepreneur concept appears to be finding a fertile ground in the traditional "group individualism" of the Burmese. 156 555 557 [177]

The standards or levels of culture: When U Myaing's standard of living plummeted downwards as a refugee he became discontented and unhappy desiring to return to the "plateau" of his former level. At first he could only think of returning to Pathwe to achieve this, but as [illegible] begins to crown his efforts in Rangoon he now feels the beginnings of a sense of achievement. In his refugee situation there was no sense of shame for his reduction - the events contributing to his downfall were beyond his control, and he had lived "as a refugee should" in which his abilities and obligations were balanced. This resulted in an attitude of cheerful patience understandable in terms of the KARMA concept. 511 181 558

The two standards, in Pathwe and camp, represent balanced levels ranging from the "average" Burmese villages situation to close to the minimum. Higher standards than those of Pathwe are seen in the administrative class of Rangoon and other major towns where western influences are strong (car, western furniture and household utensils, modernized house and clothing, etc.). Lower standards may be 511 565 [177]

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However, the Burmese equivalent of the English interlude came into being all the same. It developed out of the equivalent of the English miracle play, but indirectly. The chance of developing the drama was seized by professional actors. To break away from the tradition and the conservatism, persons outside the pale of 'good' society were needed. Spirit dancers were such persons. They worshipped the *nats*[1] and most people looked upon them with fear as being in touch with sinister and unnatural forces. They were outside the religion, and their drunken dances—drunken from wine and ecstacy—were outside the popular conception of moral behaviour. Therefore the new professional actors were drawn from the ranks of the spirit mediums. However, those who took to the new profession were malcontents and failures in their original profession. The increase in the number of the spirit dancers had caused the mediums to form themselves into a fraternity, the entry to which was closely guarded. The economic attractions of spirit dancing tempted people who had no faith in the spirits to become mediums. These factors caused discontent and disunion among the mediums, and within and without the fraternity pseudo-mediums came into being. The advance of education had robbed the *nats* of many worshippers, but most people continued to patronize spirit dancing for mere love of music and dancing. The result was the rise of a class of professional entertainers who danced and sang and played on musical instruments. The new dancers pretended to be mediums and semi-mediums, but their dancing was unconnected with any spirit feast. The rise of this professional dancing was doubtless gradual and must have preceded the *Nibhathkhin*. As early as about the year 1400, two princes and their attendants, when turned out of their palace, earned their living as wandering minstrels and professional dancers, pretending to be spirit worshippers.[2] Because of the very fact that the new dancers were malcontents and failures in their original

[1] The objects of the spirit worship are the thirty-seven *nats*, all of whom are more or less of evil character; but there are in addition to these many good *nats* who have little to do with human affairs.

[2] One prince became King Minkaung (1401–22), the other, his brother, helping him to gain the throne. An attendant became King Mohnyinthadot (1427–40), and the others ministers (G. E. Harvey, op. cit., p. 96).

The new dancers were mostly men. Men mediums were secondary to women mediums, and perhaps that was one of the reasons for the discontent among the mediums, and also the reason why the men took to wandering all over the country as dancers.

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536* 178 791 554

profession of mediums, they could break away also from the tradition and conservatism of the spirit worshippers. They were outside the religion and outside the spirit worship. They were fettered by nothing. They were the only persons who could develop new ideas with regard to the *Nibhatkhin*. And they were the first to realize the possibilities of the new entertainment. Soon they had developed it into the Burmese equivalent of the English interlude.

536* 178 522

The professional dancers became actors. People were no longer satisfied with mere dancing and singing, for the *Nibhatkhin* had given them some taste of the dramatic scene. Therefore the dancers in the middle of their entertainment paused and gave a little scene, or rather a one-act play. The male dancer became the hero, the female dancer the heroine, and the other two or three dancers became minor characters. The clown had been long before borrowed from the *Nibhatkhin*, and he became a mimic-dancer attending on the others. For two reasons the scene was always the forest. First, it did not need much stage scenery, as the branch of a tree would be enough to indicate that the action was supposed to be taking place in a forest. Second, the journey through a forest by the hero and heroine made it possible for human beings and fairies, demons and gods, princes and commoners to meet and take part in various adventures and mis-adventures. Thus the Burmese interlude came into being.

536* 744

Perhaps it is not illogical to wonder whether there was an intermediary stage of development, whether there were plays comparable to the English morality plays, bridging the gap between the *Nibhatkhin* on the one hand and the Burmese interlude on the other. It is of course impossible to be certain with regard to the question, for no Burmese miracle play or interlude has come down to us in writing. I have said[1] that there are oral accounts regarding the *Nibhatkhin* and that entertainment which I have termed the interlude, and also written accounts regarding the latter. But there is absolutely no mention in those accounts of anything which could be termed the Burmese morality play. Yet, I venture to think that there must have been plays comparable to the English moralities. If it should be presumed that the interlude developed directly out of the *Nibhatkhin*, there would be a big gap between the two. I think that the professional actors first gave semi-religious plays in imitation of the *Nibhatkhin*. I think also that there were also plays actually dealing with abstract notions of morality and religion which formed the

[1] Introduction, pp. 7–10.

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subject of the English morality plays. Again and again we find writers writing and actors saying in the prologue or epilogue that a play represents but life in its various stages; as man begins in laughter and ends in misery and death, a play begins with the happiness of the hero and heroine, and then goes on to tell of their misery and parting. To the conservative Burmese Buddhist, professional acting was a sin, and to get over the difficulty, the idea came into being that the play was only a species of preaching the religion. The existence of that idea perhaps supports my theory that there actually were plays dealing with morals which would favour the rise of such an idea. Perhaps the strongest evidence that there was a morality stage in the history of the development of Burmese drama is the existence of a popular play which has never been printed, but which is still sometimes acted. The play has no title. A rich miser marries a young wife and soon dies. The wife at once remarries. The miser now in Hell sues the wife and the new husband before the court of the governor of Hell, for the restitution of the property he had so patiently gathered and hoarded. There is a trial, and after hearing the arguments of both sides, the judge decides in favour of the young couple. The play ends with the judge moralizing on the emptiness and transitory nature of human riches. The play is quite crude and short, so that when presented today the actors have to lengthen the play to make it last the night. There is very little action, and the king of later dramas is absent. The names of the characters are general and abstract; Mister Miserly, Mistress Wife, Master New Husband, and Death (who takes the old husband to Hell).

The interlude was extremely popular, and at the court, at the houses of officials (the Burmese had no hereditary nobility, and the officials were the nobles) and at public feasts and festivals the interlude was presented. The importance of the interlude in the development of Burmese drama is great, but the importance of the professional actors who first presented the interlude in the development of the acting profession and stage conventions is even greater. The fact that the original members of the profession were outside the social pale caused all actors and actresses to be looked down upon; that fact explains why in an essentially democratic society it was said with contempt that 'beggars and actors, they are the eaters of food thrown away as waste'.[1]

[1] The stage conventions and the acting profession are described in detail in chap. vii.

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536* 538 178 popularity of the novel which discouraged the people from reading the once-famous plays and caused the 'dead' drama to be forgotten.

536* Yet the dramatic performances were popular everywhere, and in the circumstances, 'matinee idols' adored by their admirers soon appeared. These popular actors and actresses were admired purely for their dancing and singing. The result was to put the play yet further into the background. When a performance started, the audience clamoured for their favourite actor or actress, and during scenes in which he or she did not appear, it went to sleep. Three of these popular 'stars' became exceptionally famous; Aungbala, Sein Kadon, and Po Sein.[1] When Aungbala died in 1910, his funeral at Mandalay was similar in nature and incident to that of Rudolph Valentino, the cinema actor. These three led famous troupes of their own and toured the country, which on the whole tended to lower even further the dramatic performances in artistic value. For example, Sein Kadon danced with little electric bulbs all over his dress, and Po Sein had two English ex-soldiers with rifles standing motionless on each side of the stage whenever he appeared. There is no denying that there had been threats against his life by supporters of rival troupes, but I do not think that the rifles were quite necessary. In any case, the fact that he was guarded by two live English ex-soldiers impressed the audience, increased his prestige, and enhanced the theatrical effect. Such 'playing to the gallery' by the actors further prevented the possibility of any revival of [554] scholarly interest in the dramatic performance. Moreover, as rival supporters spread tales of immorality and bad conduct among those actors whom they did not favour, the prejudice against the profession increased in intensity among the more conservative Burmese. And by about 1900, the performances could claim at the most only a distant relationship with the drama of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya.

2. The English Drama in Burma

536* 101 If we put the Sanskrit, Elizabethan, and Burmese dramas side by side, we find that the Elizabethan and Burmese have much in common, both differing greatly from the Sanskrit.[2] Of the Sanskrit drama Dr A. B. Keith says:

[1] Po Sein was decorated later by the Government. See chap. viii.

[2] Apart, of course, from the fact that the Sanskrit drama is classical in language and in age.

536* 534 462 463 part, although there was no stage convention preventing women from taking it up as a vocation. The head of the orchestra was also the head of the troupe. He was the most learned and experienced member, and he was responsible for the organization and financial outlay, paying more or less fixed wages to the others, and taking the profits himself. When engaged for a performance, the troupe was paid by public subscription or by some philanthropic person, usually an official, and therefore no charge for admission was made, all being [565] welcome to it. The Burmese actors as a class, unlike their Elizabethan counterparts who could endow a College of God's Gift or buy a coat-of-arms, were poor. But they never starved, for even the poorest villages would welcome and feed them on their wanderings all over the country. The troupe was one large family, and the children of the members accompanied it. In spite of the prejudice against them and their poverty, the actors loved their art, and enjoyed the performances themselves.

536* There were many conventions connected with the stage, and they can be divided into two classes: those imposed on the actors by themselves, and those imposed by the fear of becoming unpopular with the audience.

795 536* The actors never forgot that they were originally spirit-dancers, and therefore they had conventions by which they showed their indebtedness to spirit worship. Before the performance offerings of food were made to the thirty-seven *nats*. As a curtain-raiser, there was a performance by a dancer or chorus of dancers. Each wore a red [533] cloth round the head—the sign of a spirit worshipper. Singing invocations to the *nats* and dancing the appropriate dances, they asked for protection by the spirits, while the orchestra played a bar from each [751] of the thirty-seven *nat* tunes. It was supposed that if this convention was broken, disaster would befall the troupe, the performance would prove a failure, and the actors would become mad; but often these conventions had been known to be broken, accidentally or otherwise.

536* 463 ● 554 [779] The actors were looked upon as irreligious and immoral, and on the slightest excuse, they were in danger of being considered profane. Therefore, as has been stated, they took over the conventions from the *Nibbathkhin*. The Buddha was never impersonated, and an *arahat* or saint only when absolutely necessary, and then by an able and 'serious' actor, who had to keep a fast that day. Not even a mild joke was to be made against the Buddha or an *arahat*, although even monks and the religion itself could be the butt of a clown's wit. But

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of course there were limits to the latitude allowed to him. The neglect of these conventions was supposed to result in disaster to the troupe and the death through diarrhoea of the actor who took the part or cracked the joke, and it would certainly result in the whole troupe being beaten by the audience and then put in prison by the officials. On the whole, the charge of irreligiousness attributed to the actors was not justified, and throughout the years, they had never been known even to attempt to evade the conventions. There were also conventions connected with social decorum. Kissing was not allowed on the stage. Although no penalty, supposed or real, was attached to it, this convention has never been broken. The actors could wear reproductions of all the regalia of a king, except the golden shoes, which only the king himself and princes in the line of succession could wear. The breaking of this rule was supposed to result in the death by diarrhoea of the actor who wore the shoes, but it was not punishable as a crime if they were actually worn on the stage, and it is known to have been broken sometimes. All the conventions, including those connected with spirit-dancing, still exist at the present day.

During the decadent period the platform stage, the elaborate scenery and curtains were introduced from French and English sources, for French touring companies often performed before the court towards the close of Mindon's reign (1853–78), and from about 1870 English touring companies of actors often visited Rangoon. With the performances of these companies of European actors, the general public had no contact. At the court the king and a few courtiers, out of respect for the French embassy, witnessed presentations of French operettas, but as they did not understand French and the actors could speak no Burmese, the court found the performances boring at times. At Rangoon the English actors presented musical comedies, or more truly, musical shows, to an audience composed entirely of English residents. It must be stated that the touring actors did in no way introduce specimens of the French or English dramas, for what they presented were third-rate musical shows. But they did introduce some examples of western stage-craft, and the Burmese professional actors, ever on the alert for borrowings, copied wholesale the platform stage, the curtain, and the elaborate stage scenery, with the result that, during the decadent period, the Burmese stage came to be a copy of the European stage. At Rangoon a permanent theatre was even built, a thing unknown to

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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536* 177 345 Burmese drama before, and most of U Ku's plays and *The History of Thaton* and *Saw-phay and Saw-may* were produced at that theatre. Admission to a performance was by payment, a practice alien to dramatic performances before the decadent period. The rise of 'matinee idols' resulted in the chief actor, instead of the leader of the orchestra, becoming the head of a troupe of actors. Formerly, a dramatic performance took place during the afternoon or early evening, but now because of the repeated applause for the popular 'idols', a performance lasted throughout the night.

554 536* 178 I have stated how the prejudice against professional actors increased rather than diminished through the coming of popular actors or actresses and the resulting rivalry between different troupes. But the prejudice was gradually overcome through the efforts of one man, Po Sein, who used to perform with two ex-soldiers standing beside him with rifles. By about 1912, his reputation as a leading actor was firmly established, and from that time onwards he concerned himself with raising the prestige of his profession by destroying the bitterness and the ugliness that had crept into it. By his charm of manner and personality, he soon established himself as the undisputed leader of the profession. His generous gifts to charity and irreproachable conduct soon acquitted the profession from the charge of immorality and irreligiousness. During the Great War he contributed much to the Red Cross Fund. For his services to charity and his profession, he was given a title by the Government in 1919. Such an honour had never been given before to an actor (had such a thing happened under the Burmese kings or even before 1914, the officials would certainly have vehemently protested, taking it as an insult to their class), and the Government's action was the final denial of the old dictum that actors and beggars were outside the pale of good society.

2. The Puppet Show

536* 175 According to common tradition, the Burmese puppet show came into being long before the drama, but as our knowledge of the history of the puppet show before the reign of Bodawpaya (1782–1819) is meagre, perhaps it will be better to consider first the puppet's history from that reign.

[645] It will be remembered that, as stated in Chapter II, Bodawpaya, under whom the court and the 'people's' dramas united together to give rise to a national drama, created a new ministry, that of the stage. The new minister, being a conservative courtier, wanted the drama

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

39. PAINTING OF SHINLAUNG FETE.

The constituted daily routine of the monastery takes no account of recreation. In practice there is a wide margin of leisure. But the wearer of the yellow robe is not seen at play. Arithmetical puzzles are the nearest approach to a game. On the other hand, the cheerfulness of the race suffers no restraint. There is decorum, without austerity or sanctimony. The severest penance laid upon the novice is temporary relegation to the secular state (*lein-byan*) for such faults as lying, theft, or killing anything. Cruelty to an animal is punished with caning.

The *yahán* exercise no exclusive function beyond that of admitting candidates to the novitiate and the full membership of their Assembly. The affairs of the Buddhist Church are initiated and conducted by the laity. The recluses merely add, by their presence, to the religious distinction of an occasion. At the shrine the recluse is like any other pilgrim; he never is a ministrant or priest. Neither is there any altar. The only material objects to which sanctity pertains are the relics of the Buddha. The members of the Assembly know no distinctions of men, racial or social. As regards the temporal power, of whatever origin, the recluse should be absolutely passive, neither contravening the laws nor invoking them when he suffers wrong. The recluse neither denounces nor harbours the criminal, a neutral attitude of which criminals are not slow to take advantage.

When admitted to full membership of the Assembly instituted by the Buddha (*Thingá*, Pâli *Sangha*), the novice becomes *Yahán* (*Yahán-daw*, *Rahán*, *Arahan*), which signifies *perfected*, one advanced a stage

40. BOYIN RECEIVING HIGHER INSTRUCTION

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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41. YAHAN ON THE ROUND FOR SUH.

towards the higher spiritual condition of *Ayahát* and *Ayáttapô*. The primitive appellation is *Beikku* (Pâli *Bikku*), one dependent on alms. The spiritual state preceding *Yahán*, that of the man so imbued with the spirit of the Buddha's teaching as to desire membership of his Assembly, is called *Thawtapan*. The candidate for full membership must possess the qualifications for the degree of *goyín*, in addition to a knowledge of the rule of life of the *yahán* and a modicum of religious learning. Most *yahán* are *ngè-byu*—pure from youth—that is, have passed direct from their youthful novitiate to full membership. Men of any condition may be received, and at any age above twenty, if free from debt and other ties, but must undergo a fresh probation. Over and above the precepts observed by the *goyín*, the *yahán* observes one hundred detailed injunctions. He must not merely respect life, but also the means to life. He may not wantonly injure a blade of grass. Cleanliness is particularly enjoined. A notable injunction is not to lay up any store of food. He must not use a raised sleeping-place, though by day he reclines on the couches presented to the monastery. The *yahán* sweeps his dwelling, draws water, washes his clothing, and so forth, when there are not *goyín* or lay-disciples to perform these services for him. Otherwise his occupations are only those of teaching, study, and contemplation. In Lent the *yahán* remains indoors from sunset to sunrise. At this season he also frequently selects a forest retreat for contemplation in the early morning hours (*wassaung*). The *yahán* practises confession to his brethren of the Assembly, all of whom are equals, but who defer to one another, according to seniority, which is reckoned

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42. BUDDHIST RECLUSE.

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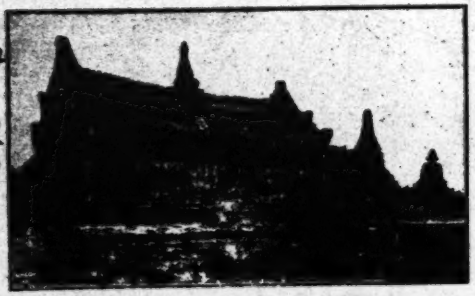

44. ANCIENT THEIN AT PAGAN.

not by age, but by the number of lenten seasons they have belonged to the Assembly. Vigils and restriction of night rest are not practised. The rule of life of the *yahán* is laid down in the *Wini* (*Vinaya Bitaka*), one of the three divisions ("baskets") of the Buddhist scriptures. A *kambawd*, or breviary of scripture, relating to membership of the Assembly, illuminated with lacquer on copper or ivory leaves, is read by turns by the five members of the conclave assembled for the reception of the new member. This solemnity is undertaken in the *thein*, a *wut* set apart for the *Thingá* alone. No lay persons enter the precincts, but they may be spectators from a distance. The new *yahán* is called *Upasín*, sojourner recluse, or assistant to the *Upyize*, or *Pôndyí*, *Kindyí* (incumbent) of the monastery. In 1891 there were 13,613 *pôndyí*, 6,668 sojourner *yahán*, and 13,500 probationers in the monasteries of Burma, which numbered 15,371, in a Buddhist population of about seven millions.

The dedication of the site for building such a *thein* (Pâli *sima*) is preceded by the solemnity of *thein-thambí*. Ground so dedicated can never be alienated to any other use. In this respect the *thein* is more sacred than the temples in general. After the site has been levelled, it is surrounded with a trench, into which water is led. In the centre a small well is sunk (*alé-dwin*). The *yahán*, not less than twenty-four in number, assemble on the spot, over which a gay pavilion (*mandat*) has been erected, and wait for the water from the trench to percolate to the well. When this occurs, the site is said to have "taken" (*aung*). Otherwise it must be rejected. The *yahán* gather round the well and intone scriptural passages from a

45. YAHAN ASSEMBLED FOR DEDICATION OF THEIN.

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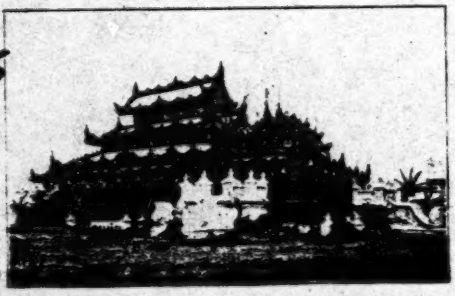

51. KYAUNG AT THE CAPITAL.

carpets, cushions, handkerchiefs, tables, chairs, betel-boxes and spittoons, glass-ware and crockery, lamps, chandeliers, clocks, knicknacks and furniture, always to the exclusion of gold and silver. Gilt wares are permissible.

The strict *yahán* should prepare his shelter for himself, in an unfrequented place. But by the dispensation already referred to, he may avail himself of a solitary dwelling proffered for his use, and this is invariably the case. Not merely are these schools numerous, but they are the most spacious, substantial, and ornate edifices in the land. Many of them are of palatial size and appointments. The Burman finds nothing too good or too beautiful for those who subject themselves to the restraint of the recluse. The recluse on his part is conventionally oblivious of the magnificence that surrounds him. It is not for him to deprecate. The religious merit of the work, which furnishes the motive of the founder, is proportioned to the outlay upon it. From the bamboo *kyaung* in the forest costing a hundred rupees or less, individuals spend up to hundreds of thousands on the palatial monasteries of the towns (*cf.* p. 75).

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When the incumbent of a monastery removes or dies, the senior sojourner (*upazín*) may receive his place as *póndyí*. Otherwise an *upazín* is invited from elsewhere, or the *póndyí* of another *kyaung* is prevailed upon to move. The *upazín* who has become *póndyí* defers to his preceptor as before. Every monastery has a titular Pâli appellation, such as *Thíla-ekkaya kyaung*, Letter-of-the-Law monastery.

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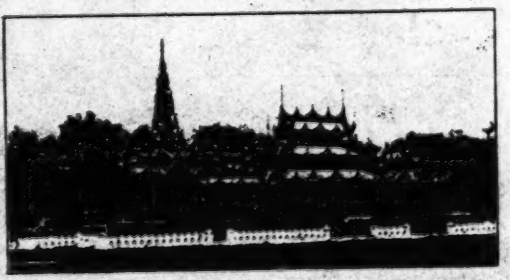
There is no hierarchy in the Assembly of *yahán*. But it commonly happens that a number of monasteries recognise a venerable teacher as referee upon matters of scholarship



52. PALACE KYAUNG.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890)-1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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159. CHILDREN AT THE RIVER SIDE (p. 81).

Every stranger, man or woman, is addressed *K'mbyá*—sir, madam. There is a courteous address for nearly every relation in life. Children, in speaking to their parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts, say *Shin* and *Daw*—lord, lady; wife to husband, *Shin*; husband to wife, *Byo*, *Bya*—terms of endearment; younger brother or sister to elder, *Go*, *Maung-dyí*; elder brother to younger *Maung*; brothers to sisters, *Ma*. *Maung* and *Ma* (brother and sister) have become the ordinary prefixes to names, answering to our Mr., Mrs., Miss. These are used even by parents to their grown-up children. To inferiors and in disparagement, the plain *nga*, *mè*, *mi* are used. Middle-aged men are given the address *Go*, and old men that of *Ú* (uncle), which is also the prefix to the *bwè* of the *yahán*. Great regard is conveyed by the address *Sayá*—teacher, master. The honorific word for wife is *gadáw*, thus—*sayá-gadáw*, *min-gadáw*. To royalty the addresses were *Gódaw*—ro[illegible] self; *Ashin-Payá*—lord of lords; *Pôn-daw-dyí*—of great glory. These titles came to be used for ministers and governors, as more euphemistic ones were devised for the kings. The same addresses are accorded by courtesy to the *yahán*, who on their part address the layman as *Tagá*, *Tagádaw*—supporter, great founder. The layman refers to himself as *tabyí-daw*—the honoured disciple. In other relations of life, other periphrases are used for the pronouns of the first and second persons. The plain *I* and *you* — *ngá*, *nin* — are only used in disparagement. Thus the current phrase for *I* is *tyumbk*—the humble servant. (For women, *tyunma*.) In addressing superiors, the phrase is *tyundáw*, *Payá-tyundáw*

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160. CHINLON GAME—APPLIQUE WORK (p. 179).

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 · APl Burma
Burmese AP4

161. CHILDREN'S TUBS AT FLOOD-TIME (p. 81).

—the slave, his lordship's humble servant. There are special honorific terms for the coming and going, eating and sleeping of royalty and of the *yahán*. The most coveted titles or appellations are those of *kyaung-tagá*, *Payá-tagá* — founder of a school, founder of a temple. The first of these is given by courtesy to persons of venerable age. The great increase of prosperity has given a corresponding impetus to the founding of such works, so that the *tagá* are more numerous than ever before. The private foundations are on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. At no period has Buddhism shone throughout the land in such resplendence as now. Personal titles and badges (*sahtè*, No. 31) used to be given by the kings. Small dignities and offices have been hereditary in many places. Nevertheless, no aristocracy has developed. One of these titles was *Thakìn* (master, lord), now assumed by all Europeans in the same way as "*sahiò*" in India. Despite the punctilio in address, greetings are unusual between equals. After absence, a mere "Here you are again" and an inquiry about health—*ma-nè-lâ?* At departure, "I'm off," "You're going"—*thwa dawmè*. There is nothing answering to the established *saláu* or to our "Good day," "Good-bye." The verbal salutation to the *yahán*, after obeisance, is *Gôdaw-mya thâppáyá pyippa-e lâ*—is your Grace duly provided with the canonical

162. CARVING OF CHINLON PLAYER (pp. 18, 176).

163. THE PAGYA SHRINE (p. 189).

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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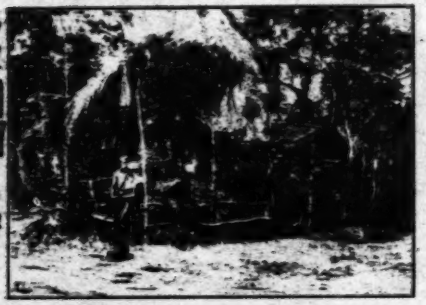

164. FOREST ZAYAT AND WATER-STAND (P. 63).

requirements? To which the *yahán* cordially responds, *pyippa, pyippa, tagádaw*—that I am, my valued supporter! Just as salutations are ordinarily omitted, so thanks are only expressed for special favours. The sense of obligation is conveyed by adopting courteous forms of speech, in which the particle *ha* always figures. The set forms of *please* and *thank you* are thus dispensed with. Where, however, a disparity of age or position exists, every act of the superior becomes by courtesy a boon. A Burman is disconcerted by a simple present, as well as by *bakshish* and payments above the stipulation, which he is particular to make beforehand. But when approaching a superior with a request, the inferior bears an offering of courtesy, generally fruit. The inferior makes *shibò* both on approaching and taking leave. A Burman does not stand, in the presence of his superior, but squats down. When he has occasion to pass close to his superior, he does not walk erect but crouches. By well-bred Burmans the gestures of respect are performed in a very graceful manner. Every Burman, the *yahán* not excepted, on ascending the *kyaunting* of a house, removes his sandals or shoes. As we Westerns respect the *roof* that our host has provided by doffing our head-gear, so Easterns respect the *floor* that is provided—an observance of a practical nature where the floor serves both for seat and table. In an analogous way to our greeting with the hat, the Oriental shows respect by slipping the sandals even outside the house. Still more courteous is the practice of washing the feet before entering a house or *kyaung*. Burmans always contrive to sit so as to hide the soles of the feet or to turn them

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165. RECEIVING A VISITOR.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The cordage used in 283

218. LIMESTONE ROCKS.

Burma is twisted from the bast of the *shaw* tree (*sterculia* varieties). For guys, stays, and standing rigging of boats, rattan is employed. Split rattan is used for strong ties, and withes of split bamboo (*hnî*) for common ties. The *shaw* rope is three and four stranded, and is twisted with native gear very like that of our own rope-walks. A long and even four-stranded rope is made by three men. This furnishes a good example of mechanical advancement, when compared with the method of the hill-people, who require six men to twist a much shorter rope of the same number of strands (Nos. 219–20) Shaw rope is smooth, but has not the flexibility of cocoanut-fibre and manila-fibre ropes, which are now imported. Fine cotton yarn is twisted into cord for making nets. A coarse jute fibre (*paissun*) is also twisted for net-making.

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Silk-culture is under the ban of Buddhism for the same reason as fishery. The greater part of the silk yarn used is brought from China, but a good deal is produced locally by the *Zabîn* or *Yabîn*, a people speaking Burmese and resembling the Burmans in most respects, but despised by the latter. They are settled along the foot of the Pegu Yôma hill-range, on its eastern and western slopes, where they make clearings in the forest (*taungya*) and plant the mulberry. They prepare a yellow silk yarn which, coarse and knotty as it is, is preferred for the best class of Burman silk cloths (*luntayd*, No. 132). The raw silk fetches thirty-five to forty rupees a viss. It is a perfect washing silk in all its dyes and wears a lifetime. In a few localities, silk-weaving is a special industry practised by men as well as women. Settlers from Manipûr

288 231 [779] 554 463]

219. LIMEKILN.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burmese
Burmese AP4

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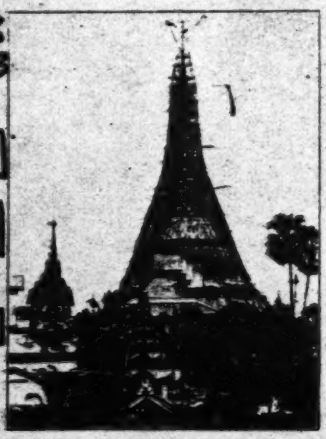

217. PLASTERER'S SCAFFOLD ON ZEDI.

(*Kathé*) excel in this work and form colonies for the industry. Attempts have been made in Europe to imitate the scroll-patterns on the Jacquard loom, as well as to print them. But the imitations fall too far short of the original, which is nearly the same front and back. The best *lun-tayé* silks cost ten to fifteen rupees the square foot, which makes two hundred to three hundred rupees for the *pasé*. Only an inch or two a day can be woven. Italian methods of carding, dyeing, and finishing silk, were introduced by the late King, Mindôn Min, and have helped to develop an important industry in Mandalay. Stripe and tartan patterns are woven in this way, chiefly from China silk. Fine texture and delicate tints are aimed at, rather than rich colour and design. The *pasé* of

[435] twenty cubits, one cubit wide, costs ten to twenty rupees.

293 The Burman umbrella (*tí*) is on the Chinese model—a bamboo frame with
[171] paper cover. The Chinese umbrella has a thin paper cover, the Burman has bast-paper, which outlasts several of the other. But the Chinese umbrellas are cheaper, better waterproofed, and sun-proof. The Burman *tí* is waterproofed by occasional oiling with crude petroleum. A waterproof size made from the fruit of the *tí* is used for fixing the paper to the ribs and the cotton twines that connect them. The red, the gilt and the white umbrellas

[186] are emblems of state. The
[564] first two denote official rank, according to the number assigned. Such umbrellas

[532] have stems of turned wood, six to eight feet long, to allow of the *tí* being borne over the officer on horseback or in his chariot, by attendants on foot (No. 375). The

218. SCULPTURING MARBLE IMAGES.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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234. WASHING FOR GOLD.

silver, of the work, for workmanship. The fineness of the gold used is from eighteen to twenty-two and a half carats. Copper is the alloy for gold (four to sixteen *yué* of copper to the *kyat* or tikal). Silver is used of rupee fineness (four *yué* of alloy to the *kyat*) up to pure metal (*baw*). The intermediate fineness of sterling silver is the most usual. Silver is alloyed with copper and with zinc. With the few implements named above, plate for display and ornaments for women's wear are fashioned, of beautiful design and considerable finish. Chasing and *repoussé* ornament are used for the gold and silver plate, filigree and beading for the gold ornaments. Those who can afford it, serve drinking-water to their guests in a large silver bowl (*paldi*) holding a gallon or so, with a small *paldi* floating on the water. Other objects of luxury are silver lime-boxes, betel-boxes, hafts and scabbards of sabres. Broad zones of *repoussé*-work are relieved by fillets and beadings. The plain vessel having been hammered into shape is filled with a tough lac. This affords a ductile matrix, yielding where the chaser is applied and supporting the relief portions. The first step is to outline the work with a bronze punch, after which the lac is melted out and the metal annealed. Lac is poured in again, and a stage of relief raised. By successive annealings the full relief is obtained.* The figure designs are the signs of the zodiac, episodes from *zat*, and mythical animals. Women frequently carry some thousands of rupees worth of gold in the form

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235. VILLAGE SILVERSMITH.

* The figure to the left in No. 237 is Go Thu Ban of Maulmain, the silversmith who designed and executed the tools used for the sides of this volume. The back is from the cover of a *Kambawza*, to the colours of which it corresponds.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

Dealers, with the exception of 1164
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276.—THE LORD OF HELL RECEIVES HIS STEWARD'S ACCOUNT OF THE PAINS INFLICTED ON SINNERS (p. 121).

The dealer in medicine, who is at the same time the physician, do not receive the title *sayá*—teacher, doctor—which is accorded to every master workman. The physician (*sétthama sayá*) makes no charge for his advice, but only for his medicines. There is, however, a school of doctors who oppose the use of drugs, and rely upon the regulation of diet and on shampooing; they make their charge for the latter operation. Ague (intermittent fever, *pyá-na*) is the commonest complaint in Burma, which no one escapes. The remittent form of malarial fever is also common. Attacks may be light and pass away of themselves, or they may be severe and protracted. Malaria is the chief cause of mortality. The common treatment is to encourage sweating. Aperients are not resorted to if it can be helped, as the Burmese drugs are drastic. In severe cases the head is shaved. Quinine was at one time making its way in the bazárs; but soon adulteration began to be practised, and it lost repute. The scheme of selling the Government quinine at the post offices may be effectual in rehabilitating the medicine. Santonin worm-tablets likewise had a great reputation until adulteration began. Rheumatism is common in Burma. It is treated by shampooing (*a-hnlik*), which in this complaint is most efficacious. *A-hnlik* is a kneading of the muscles and nervous plexuses; massage, in the sense of rubbing, is not practised. The expert shampooers possess an empirical knowledge of the inter-dependences in the nervo-muscular system which is remarkable. An attack of lumbago, which would cripple one for days, is cured in half an hour. Vapour baths, over the water of hot springs, are also resorted to. Heart-burn and colic are common ailments.

277. BURMAH APOTHECARY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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378. JUDGE PRESIDING IN COURT (YON).

fixed annual revenue to the treasury, and he retained such excess as he could raise for himself. Even more cynical than the appellation of *myoza*, but nevertheless officially accepted, is that of his deputy, *thwethauttyi*, or bloodsucker. The revenue exactions were variable, and were levied with little regularity; outlying localities escaped altogether. The people of such places were almost without ostensible government. The 3-rupee household tax of 1862 had advanced to 10 Rs. in 1886 (*Thathameda*). There were also special imposts and special exemptions. The original style and address of the king came to be adopted by his deputies, as more high-sounding titles were devised for him. Every officer is now addressed *Payà* and spoken of as *min*, which means ruler, prince. The full style of high officials used to occupy several lines of a document; there were the traditional titles of the office and territory, the prerogatives granted by the king, conspicuous among which were the number of red and gold umbrellas allotted to the rank, and the executive powers, such as *dàbaing*, holder of the sword. The last-named symbol was borne before the officer as arbiter of life. The lower grades of office were, and in many places still are, hereditary, especially that of *thadyt*, the appointed headman who levies the taxes from the people (literally the poor, *sinyètha*). The Burmese correlative of *official* is significant; no matter how wealthy he be, one who holds no office is a "poor" man—at the mercy of the *asbya*. If the rapacity of an official under the old *régime* grew intolerable, he incurred the risk of assassination, without much likelihood of being avenged by the central authority. The religious aversion to be

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377. THE CITY GATE (PYA-O).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

378. THE PALACE GARDENS.

the cause of suffering and death, and the discredit reflected on officialdom by its methods, lead the best elements of the population to shun office, as a touching of pitch. The dearth of ability and character in the governing classes leaves the governed without efficient protection. The religious motive further operates in withholding information about criminals.

A pregnant category is that of the "five enemies"—Fire, Water, Robbers, Rulers, Ill-wishers. The governors and deputies who acted as judges heard causes at the *yôn*, an open shed in a public place. But every cause was presented in the first instance at the house of the official, and it is contrary to accepted ideas of politeness to approach a superior empty-handed, even on a mere visit of courtesy. The *pros* and *cons* of the case were understood before the regular hearing. At the hearing, the advocates of the parties (*ashé-ne*) publicly presented their pleas and the evidence was recorded. The Burmese form of oath is to take the *kyanza* in the hands, a book of imprecations which the witness invokes on his head if he should speak falsely. The judge or judges intimated their finding to their clerks (*sayé*), who recorded it in official style and read it out. The punishments awarded to criminals and the condition of prisoners were much like those prevailing in Europe at the time of the Renaissance. Every judgment of importance was registered in the *Hluttaw* or chancellery at the capital, presided over by the four chief ministers (*Wundyt*), through whom all royal commands to the governors of provinces issued. There was no regular system of appeals. The Hindu code of Manú served as a body of law, and statutes were decreed by the kings; but *thnzan* (custom) supplied standards of a more practical and stable nature.

379. ROYAL MAID OF HONOUR (APYODAW).